

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, US, IS, EG, XF

SUBJECT: APPROACH TO GOE ABOUT DISTORTIONS OF STATUS OF
NEGOTIATIONS IN PUBLIC REALM

1. PLEASE GET IN TOUCH WITH MUBARAK AND CONVEY FOLLOWING
POINTS TO HIM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, ASKING HIM TO TRANSMIT
THEM TO SADAT. YOU MAY INCORPORATE THESE COMMENTS IN
"NON-PAPER" FOR MUBARAK IF HE SO REQUESTS.

-- IN ADDITION TO COMMENTS MADE BY DAYAN IN KNESSET MAY 24
WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY CALLED TO GOE ATTENTION TOGETHER
WITH LINE WE ARE TAKING IN RESPONSE TO PRESS QUERIES, A
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NUMBER OF MISLEADING STORIES ABOUT THE CURRENT STATUS OF
NEGOTIATIONS HAVE APPEARED RECENTLY IN THE PRESS. TO
MAKE SURE THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT WHAT WE HAVE
AND HAVE NOT SAID TO THE ISRAELIS, WE WANT TO REVIEW FOR
PRESIDENT SADAT OUR RECENT EXCHANGES WITH THE ISRAELIS TO
ENSURE AN ACCURATE UNDERSTANDING.

-- FIRST OF ALL, WITH RESPECT TO DAYAN'S KNESSET COMMENTS, WE HAVE NOT YET HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH DAYAN BUT ARE TOLD BY SOURCES CLOSE TO HIM THAT SEVERAL INACCURACIES APPEARED IN HIS COMMENTS WHICH WERE GIVEN IN THE HEAT OF DEBATE AND UNDER THE PRESSURE OF SHARP ATTACKS FROM THE

OPPOSITION. WE ARE NEVERTHELESS BAFFLED BY DAYAN'S STATEMENT THAT WE HAVE GIVEN HIM A "DOCUMENT" SETTING FORTH EGYPTIAN VIEWS. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT GIVEN DAYAN A DOCUMENT OF ANY SORT THAT COULD FIT THIS DESCRIPTION.

-- OUR AMBASSADOR SAW DAYAN MAY 19 TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE WHICH AMBASSADOR EILTS BRIEFED SADAT AND MUBARAK ON IN HIS CONVERSATION MAY 17. IN RESPONSE TO THE "FOUR QUESTIONS" WHICH DAYAN POSED, WE GAVE HIM ON AN ENTIRELY INFORMAL BASIS OUR UNDERSTANDING OF EGYPT'S POSITION BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WE HAVE HAD WITH PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRESIDENT SADAT'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS, EMPHASIZING THESE WERE OUR IMPRESSIONS ONLY AND THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SEEK FIRMER EXPLICIT STATEMENTS ON THESE VARIOUS POINTS FROM SADAT WHEN ISRAEL GIVES US POSITIVE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS SECRETARY VANCE HAD POSED TO HIM. WE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT EGYPTIANS HAD MADE IT CLEAR THROUGHOUT THAT THEY WERE TAKING THESE POSITIONS ON ASSUMPTION OF ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLE THAT WITHDRAWAL APPLIES TO WEST BANK AND GAZA AS WELL AS OTHER FRONTS. OUR
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AMBASSADOR'S REPORT OF THAT CONVERSATION LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT DAYAN WAS CLEAR IN HIS OWN MIND AS TO WHAT WE WERE SAYING AND PROPOSING.

-- RECENT PRESS ARTICLES ORIGINATING IN ISRAEL GIVE THE IMPRESSION WE NO LONGER LOOK TO ISRAEL TO AGREE THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL APPLIES TO ALL FRONTS INCLUDING THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IN FACT, IN PUTTING OUR TWO QUESTIONS TO ISRAEL, WE MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT RESOLUTION OF THE FINAL STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AT THE END OF FIVE-YEAR INTERIM PERIOD WOULD HAVE TO BE BASED ON ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF RESOLUTION 242.

-- THESE PRESS ARTICLES ALSO ALLEGE U.S. HAS AGREED WITH ISRAEL TO "ABANDON" THE EFFORT TO GET A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN FAVOR OF DAYAN'S PREFERRED APPROACH OF EXPLORING PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO WEST BANK/GAZA PROBLEMS. AS SADAT KNOWS, WE BELIEVE THERE IS MERIT IN IDEA OF EXPLORING THESE PRACTICAL QUESTIONS. IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELIS, HOWEVER, WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE SEE THIS AS FACILITATING AND NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR ULTIMATE AGREEMENT ON A DECLARATION. WE HAVE ALSO STRESSED THAT

FROM EVERYTHING SADAT HAD TOLD US HE CONTINUED TO SEE A FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES AS ESSENTIAL, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL.

-- THESE ARTICLES ALSO IMPLY WEAKENING OF THE U.S. STAND ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THESE TERRITORIES MUST RECEIVE THE APPROVAL OF THE PEOPLE CONCERNED.

WE HAVE NOT TAKEN A POSITION ON ANY PRECISE MECHANISM BY WHICH THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED, BUT WE STAND SOLIDLY BY THAT PRINCIPLE.

-- FINALLY, SOME PRESS ARTICLES RAISE THE SUBJECT OF AN EGYPTIAN COUNTERPROPOSAL ON THE WEST BANK/GAZA. WE HAVE
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TOLD THE ISRAELIS THAT WE HAVE BEEN EXPECTING AN EGYPTIAN COUNTERPROPOSAL AND HAVE BEEN EXCHANGING IDEAS WITH THE EGYPTIANS ABOUT THIS. WE HAVE SAID NOTHING ABOUT HAVING RECEIVED DOCUMENTS OR "REJECTING" THEM. WE HAVE IN FACT NOT CONVEYED EGYPTIAN DOCUMENT GIVEN AMBASSADOR EILTS MAY 18 TO ISRAELIS AND MAY FIRST WANT TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ABOUT IT WITH EGYPT SINCE IT STILL RAISES CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN OUR MIND. IN ANY EVENT, WE BELIEVE IT IS DESIRABLE TO WAIT UNTIL ISRAEL HAS RESPONDED TO OUR TWO QUESTIONS BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO PROCEED WITH RESPECT TO EGYPTIAN WEST BANK/GAZA COUNTERPROPOSALS.

-- AT SAME TIME, IT IS IMPORTANT WE AVOID SITUATION IN WHICH ISRAELIS COULD CONCLUDE WE HAVE MISLED THEM ABOUT STATUS OF EGYPTIAN COUNTERPROPOSALS. WE INTEND, THEREFORE, TO TELL ISRAELIS THAT EGYPT HAS SENT US A COUPLE OF PAPERS CONTAINING ITS IDEAS ON WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES TO GET OUR REACTION. WE WILL TELL THEM WE ARE CONTINUING OUR EXCHANGES WITH EGYPT ON THIS SUBJECT AND HAVE NOT YET BEEN ASKED TO CONVEY ANYTHING FROM EGYPTIANS TO ISRAELIS BUT WILL DO SO WHENEVER THEY ASK US TO.

2. FYI: "PRESS ARTICLES" MENTIONED ABOVE REFER PRIMARILY TO MAY 25 WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE, FULL TEXT OF WHICH BEING SENT SEPTEL. END FYI. VANCE

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